2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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race apart, although in reality they differ from other Bemba merely in regard to their fixed habitation, greater degree of intermarriage, and independence of their neighbours. It will be best to sketch fishing methods in general as they are practised all over the country, and then to describe the more complex type of occupation characteristic of these riverine villages.

Bemba methods of fishing, whether by trapping, netting, or poisoning, are only successful in shallow waters. For this reason fish are only caught easily during two seasons of the year: (*a*) *April and May*, i.e. at the end of the rains when the waters are falling on the flats and banks, and the fish may be caught returning to the big rivers from the smaller streams and backwaters, where they had gone to breed a few months earlier. (*b*) *September to November*, i.e. when the level of the water in the rivers has fallen to its lowest and trapping or netting is possible in the main body of the stream, and poison can be used in the smaller rivers. Fish may also be caught sometimes on their way upstream to breed in January or February. But in a river as big as the Chambesi fishing of one kind or another is practised all the year round.

The natives recognize no close season for breeding. Questioned as to why they wish to trap fish that are full of eggs or young fish that are undersized, they answer in some such terms as, 'Well, it is no use leaving the fish for some one else to catch, is it?'

(*a*) *Methods.*

1. *Fish poisoning*. The simplest method of catching fish is by the use of a stupefying poison known as *ububa*, which is obtained from the crushed leaves of a bushy plant (*Tephrosia*) cultivated especially for the purpose in any village near a stream.[1] Fish poisoning (*ukusungilo buba*) is a co-operative activity in which the whole village, men, women, and children, join, and which is quite unskilled. The whole village may go out together under the orders of the headman, or a group of villagers may plan their own expedition. The best time of year for such fishing is August to November, when the waters are at their lowest.[2] On the smaller rivers such fishing parties are

[1] Mr. E. B. H. Goodall in *Some Wemba Words*, 1921, states that *buba* is used as a collective term to cover all forms of fish poison collected from various roots and leaves, including the cultivated plant, *kowemushi*, and different forest trees and shrubs, but I only heard the name used for the former.

[2] I have known natives try to fish by this method much earlier, i.e. in July and August, but this will depend on the height of the water.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
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121 expressed purposes of the people concerned. The latter is a system of ideas, and the former a result of social action which may not appear clearly to the anthropologist until he has examined the effects of a number of rites.

In a sense all the types of anthropological interpretations just listed can be described as pragmatic since they are based on the argument that people carry out religious rites because they fulfil some function for the individual, the society as a whole, or the groups of which it is composed; because, in short, they satisfy a need.

Lastly it is important to study ritual as a teaching device in relation to general methods of education in the society; of the public proclamation of legal obligations in ritual in relation to the other means of enforcing such duties; and to an examination of the different ritual acts as a means of giving confidence to individuals or groups.

I will advance explanations of all these different kinds in the case of the chisungu.

EXPRESSED PURPOSES OF THE CHISUNGU

X881 ● 829 *Primary.* When questioned directly as to why they need to dance the chisungu for their girls, most older Bemba speak with the utmost energy. It is quite clear that the rite is intended to do something, and to do something that is felt to be most necessary and important. Men as distinct from women do not know, or are not supposed to know, the subsidiary purposes of the rite, but they speak in general terms. They say that of course the rite is necessary. No one would want to marry a girl who had not had her chisungu danced. She would not know what her fellow women knew. She would not be invited to other chisungu feasts. She would just be a piece of rubbish (*cipele*); an uncultivated weed (*cangwe*); an unfired pot (*citongo*); a fool (*cipumbu*) or just 'not a woman'. They lay emphasis on the preparation of the girl for marriage and for a change of status. Men know the magic dangers to which a girl becomes subject at puberty, but it would not be proper for them to express them. Their answers, often given with

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considerable violence of expression, amounted often to little more than saying that the girl is initiated to prevent her remaining uninitiated.[1]

Women were prepared to be much more specific. Their answers did not refer to marriage but to the transformation of the young girl. Their replies could be divided into three types which reflect three aspects of the rite in Bemba eyes. The chisungu is danced they say, to make the girl grow (*ukumukushya*); to teach her (*ukumufunda*); and 'to make her a woman as we are'. The first object has the clarity of the typical magic intention. It is a rite designed to change the course of nature by supernatural means, and as we shall see, to test whether these changes have been brought about. The second is described as 'teaching', with the use of the word commonly now employed for teaching in European schools, although, as we shall see, this form of teaching is also a type of ritual behaviour, possibly with magic intent. The third purpose was expressed with greater vagueness and was one concerning which attitudes had to be mainly deduced.

(a) *The magic of growth and nubility.* What does the word *ukukushya* mean? It is the causative form of the word 'to grow'. In other words 'We do the rite to grow the girl'. It is used primarily of the jumping tests at the beginning of the rite and at two subsequent stages, that is to say the first, the seventeenth and the last days. The chisungu has of course many of the features common to rites of transition in the sense in which Van Gennep uses the term. The ritual separation of the girls was clearly marked. They slept in a separate hut and were never seen during the day unless actually participating in a ceremony. They concealed themselves very effectively, but they were also ritually hidden. They entered the initiation hut on the first day under the cover of blankets and they remained hidden in this way until the third day when they returned from the first woodland ceremony. They were covered with branches in the rite described as the hiding or fencing in of the girls. A song described them as crawling into a secret place as if through a tunnel.

[1] Young men would very often admit that most girls were not now 'danced' but even among educated Bemba I noticed a good deal of nostalgia for the old days when girls were 'taught'.

5:Slaski E-4 (no date) 1950 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

Luapula Peoples

Tabwa (Aitawa), Lungu, Bemba, and Aushi (including their off-shoots the Kawendi and Mukulo). In addition there are Bwile (Bwiri), Mambwe, Bisa, Ngumbo, Mukulu, Lala, Lamba, Lenotwa, Yeke (Nyamwezi) and Swahili elements. The presence of the Batembo pygmies, whom Maes and Boone(1) place just south of Lake Mweru on their tribal map of the region, is not confirmed by other authorities. The extent of tribal mixture is shown by the fact that the headmen of thirty-four villages in Kambwali's chiefdom belong to eleven different tribes. None of the tribes is indigenous to the valley.

The tribe, *mutundu* (pl. *mitundu*: the word is also used for a species of animal, bird or tree) or *mushyobo*, is not a descent group. Tribal allegiance, unlike clan affiliation, can be changed with residence. Though never in doubt about their clan, people may be uncertain as to their tribe. Inter-tribal differences in custom were never considerable. Neither physical type, form of settlement, nor language are now reliable indications of tribal origin. Certain characteristics are traditionally attributed to particular tribes: the Bemba are proverbially cruel, the Shila good fishermen and canoe-makers; the Tabwa are renowned as witches and for the beauty of their women,(2) the Lenotwa for their quarrelsomeness. In spite of territorial dispersion, members of a tribe consider themselves *lupwa lumo*, "of one stock". The chiefs of neighbouring tribes occasionally visit their former subjects established in Kazembe's country.

The Lunda possessed a special status and constituted a sort of nobility to which distinguished outsiders - non-Lunda chiefs and headmen - could be admitted by being invested with Lundahood (*ubulunda*).

DEMOGRAPHY

No estimates are available for the population in the valley on the western (Belgian Congo) side. On the eastern side in Northern Rhodesia it was estimated by Coxhead at 32,000 in 1914.(3) He made no attempt, however, to distinguish between the various tribal groups, referring to all the subjects of the Kazembe as "the Lunda". According to more recent estimates the eastern population approaches 50,000 and shows signs of rapid expansion. It is now concentrated in some 300 villages strewn along the Luapula by the trunk road built on the hard land next to the riverside swamps. No figures are available to indicate variations in the density of population, which must be very high locally as many of the villages adjoin one another forming a continuous row of habitations along the side of the road.

Except for missionaries there are no resident Europeans in Kazembe's kingdom. On Nkuba's side a group of colonial officials and traders live at Kasenga.

Mobility has always been high and numbers have fluctuated widely as a result of migrations due to wars and to the popularity of individual chiefs.(4) A large proportion of the population is said to have left the country during the reign of Keleka, the fourth Kazembe, remembered for his atrocities.(5)

(1) Maes and Boone, 1935, p.135.
(2) Livingstone, 1874, I, p.259.
(3) Coxhead, 1914, p.64.
(4) Livingstone, op.cit., p.254.
(5) Livingstone, op.cit., p.265.